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The marikmo-maraitcha reciprocation is far less powerful than the wawa-yukiyuko or bapa-gatu relationship. The female marikmo is seldom considered at all. A marikmo diramo is of more importance to a maraitcha diramo after death than before. It is largely because of this post-mortem relationship that the living tie is of importance. 603

A spirit child comes from the water hole of the clan where the spirit of the dead marikmo is. This marikmo takes a special interest in the unborn child. A maraitcha receives some of his names, including all his totemic names, from his marikmo diramo. A maraitcha mielk receives her names from her female marikmo and mari. 603 775 551

When a man dies, the spirit of his marikmo comes out of the well for him, and takes the dead man's good soul[10] back to the well whence it had come as a spirit child. When a man lies dying, the spirit of marikmo (also mari) comes to his maraitcha and calls for the spirit to come out and join him. The natives believe that sometimes just as the man dies, while the heart is still beating, the marikmo's spirit enters the heart, and that is why the heart continues to beat. He then takes the soul of the dead man out of the heart and leaves for the other world through the dead man's mouth. Frequently, the spirit of a dead marikmo fights with the mokoi (the evil ghosts who live in jungles) for the spirit of the dead man, for they claim it as theirs. The father and others paint the body of the dead man or woman with the design of the totemic water hole and sing a totemic song so that marikmo can hear and lead his maraitcha to the totemic well and save it from the attacks of the mokoi. 603 775 [763] [764]

When the bones are exhumed the women carry them for a time. A marikmo mielk helps in this, but her participation is small and of little importance. 603 [765]

A marikmo diramo has a claim on a man's canoe. Both male and female marikmo seem to acquire what powers they have because they are in the patrilineal line and are pale reflections of the father.

Mokul Bapa ⟷ *Gatu* (diramo and mielk) (father's sister ⟷ brother's child) 684

The varieties of mokul bapa correspond to those of bapa. The mokul bapa, say the natives, is a kind of female father. No taboos surround her relations with gatu except the ordinary restrictions between men and women of the same moiety. Gatu diramo looks upon her not only as a sister to his father, but also as a mother of his dué, a most important person. [606]

[10] Birimbir, warro; see Glossary of Native Terms.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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614 ant person. Gatu mielk sees her as a possible mother of her husband and, with marriage matters definitely settled, would make presents to her as such. Husband's mother and son's wife are usually together after the second year of marriage. Gatu diramo would always go to his mokul bapa among others for food if he were hungry.

604 562 765 When a man dies and his father is exhuming his bones, all the other women relatives are kept back of a windbreak and forbidden to have a full view of the proceedings; but mokul bapa is allowed to stand by the men and watch, occupying in a lesser degree the position her brother holds in this respect. Further, she, among others, is given the bones of her dead gatu to carry before they are finally put into a hollow log coffin.

604 She occupies as an individual the same position as the father's brothers, who also call their brother's children sons and daughters. She belongs to the same generation and patrilineal line as father's brothers and except for sex she is in every respect the same as they; her brother's children treat her with the respect due their fathers. A better understanding of her position can be gained by examining the relations of brother and sister.

605 So far we have discussed only the social personalities in ego's own patrilineal line. We now turn to two new lines of descent—the alternating dué-waku line which terminates in the term kaminyer; and the momo-nati and arndi-gawel line found, with galle added, in ego's own generation and the second descending generation.

Dué ⟷ *Galle* (diramo and mielk) (father's sister's child ⟷ mother's brother's child)

This reciprocal has four varieties: (1) dué (man) and galle (woman); (2) dué (man) and galle (man); (3) dué (woman) and galle (woman); and (4) dué (woman) and galle (man).

There are five varieties of the first relationship: (1) cohabiting galle and dué who are actually father's sister's sons and mother's brother's daughters; (2) cohabiting galle and dué who are from more distant clans; (3) actual father's sister's sons and mother's brother's daughters who are married to other dué and galle; (4) galle and dué from the same clan as the father's sister's husband and mother's brother; and (5) galle and dué from more remote clans.

605 595 The dué diramo and galle mielk relationship regulates the greater part of sexual behavior. The basic idea that a man may have an indefinite number of wives but a woman only one husband at a time

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contributes appreciably to the solidarity of the two men. Many elements make for conflict if the marriage is normal, but this is overcome by the Murngin with great brilliance in social engineering. 605

Galle diramo and dué mielk have little direct relationship. Their entire conduct is a pale reflection of the other galle-diramo and dué-diramo reciprocity. Galle diramo marries mari mielk and his wife's relatives belong to a different line from that of dué mielk; dué mielk's husband is kutara in still another line. [582]

Gawel ⟷ *Waku* (diramo and mielk) (mother's brother ⟷ sister's child) 604

There are two types of the waku-gawel relationship since there are both a male and a female waku, the relationship with the latter being of little importance. There are six varieties of the gawel and waku-diramo type. They are, in descending order of significance: (1) the consanguine mother's brother (gawel) and sister's son, the latter having the former's daughter as a wife; (2) mother's brother whose daughters have been given to waku's brothers; (3) consanguine mother's brothers, but with no daughters given to the sister's son; (4) near mother's brothers and sister's sons; (5) distant mother's brothers and sister's sons, who have a trading reciprocation; and (6) distant mother's brothers and sister's sons.

The first three and the fifth are the important varieties in the eyes of the natives. The fifth will be treated by itself (see page 145), since it includes other elements of the Murngin culture either latent or non-existent in the relationships so far studied. The fundamental facts are that mother's brother is the man to whom sister's son looks for a wife, and that accordingly waku is the man from whom gawel receives many presents and favors.

As soon as a boy is old enough to comprehend, his parents point gawel out to him, or a gawel may tell the boy that he is his potential father-in-law and as such must receive special attention. This means that throughout waku's life he is always giving presents to gawel. The latter at times returns them. All the articles of the daily diet and material culture are included in this gift-making. When a waku has been initiated into the tribal secrets to the point where he knows and has seen his ranga, he often gives the string from it to his gawel. This is the finest gift one man could make to another, unless it were the ranga itself or a hair belt made from a dead clansman's hair. In a way, any of these presents would give an important part of the social 604 431

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personality of the waku to his gawel. The gifts are always more numerous from the younger man to the older; but when a gawel receives ranga string, a ranga, or the hair belt, he must reciprocate by giving a return present to show his appreciation, or he would offend his waku.

When a gawel gives his daughter to his sister's son, this is not merely a gift, for the waku by tribal law has a right to her and would fight for her if the gawel tried to give her to someone else. He would also feel that he had the right to gawel's wife's second daughter and the privilege of declining the offer of a third. There would be an obligation, too, on gawel to give his waku another wife if the first were barren or died before giving birth to a child. If a waku's wife runs away from him, his gawel would under almost all circumstances do everything possible to get her back for the husband. If he did not, he would feel obligated to give the waku another daughter in her place.

A gawel decides when the waku shall receive his daughter, or, in other words, he really determines when the tribe shall give its complete recognition to the marriage.

A group of brothers who were gawel would be divided up according to seniority among a group of waku who were brothers. The oldest gawel would have the oldest waku, and the next oldest gawel would have the next oldest waku. This is the ideal, naturally not always realized. Ideally, also, the first wife gives her first two daughters to the oldest waku and the next daughter to the next oldest waku.

When a gawel decides to give recognition to a marriage of his daughter to a waku, he instructs his wife (mokul rumeru to the waku) to build a camp for the two, and for a time residence is matrilocal (see page 77).

When it is decided that a waku is to get a gawel's daughter, the gawel shows his pleasure by giving presents to his dué, who is the boy's father, and also to yeppa, his sister, who is the boy's mother. The boy's mother would receive more than the father. A gawel is pleased, because a waku is like a second son to him, and he has strengthened his position in the tribe by this marriage tie to another clan, whereas a daughter is of little use in time of war. A waku would be of great help, both because of himself and his brothers, and also because of waku's other relatives.

Such a relationship would also prevent trouble. "If my bapa and my gawel tried to fight, I'd stop them," is a favorite remark among the Murngin men. "I wouldn't know which one to help. I'd stop both

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of them." This demonstrates clearly the strong bond between these relatives. Sometimes a waku's gawel is not galle to the waku's father except distantly. Obviously, given the above feelings, the gawel-waku relationship adds much to the strength of a clan and at the same time helps prevent trouble between the two groups. 604

If a fight developed, gawel would help waku with the loan of his spears, and, if necessary, by fighting for him. His own sons would also aid his waku, their duć. A waku is taught much of what he knows about fighting and hunting by gawel. If the older man is a magician he also teaches this art to his waku. [868]

Gawel uses waku's property, or vice versa, with the freedom of a brother or father. If gawel's wife is misbehaving, waku tries by indirect threats of death to make her conform to the tribal ideal of conduct. [626]

Sometimes a gawel promises a waku his daughter, the boy makes presents to him for a long period of time, and the gawel then refuses to give him the girl. This means trouble. Strong pressure would usually be put upon the older man to force him to give her to the boy. This might end in an interclan fight, or the waku would probably run away with her. 604 578

Another disappointing situation for waku that occasionally occurs is when a gawel says, "I'll give you the daughters from this wife." The waku makes presents over a period of time, meanwhile watching the woman to see if she is going to bear children. If she is barren or produces only sons he stops making his father-in-law presents and turns his attention to some other gawel. 604 584 431

The Australian aborigine is a most industrious trader. Articles of trade are passed over well-known trade routes for hundreds of miles and through many tribes. The Murngin and their neighbors are no exceptions to this rule. The Ritarngo and the Djinba trade stone spear heads to the seacoast tribes for red ocher and pipe clay, or for wooden spears. Ranga string is exchanged between them, as well as many other articles. The waku-gawel reciprocal is utilized for the trading. All men try to have as many distant waku as they can. Presents are constantly being exchanged between the two, not to acquire material wealth so much as to extend a man's sphere of influence beyond the nearby clans. It pleases a Murngin to have a present sent from a distant people and adds greatly to his social prestige. It also gives him a greater feeling of safety when traveling, to know that he has a waku or gawel with whom he has this trading relationship. Waku and gawel often visit each other and their behavior demonstrates real friendship when they meet. 439 438 604 431 554 574

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604 The gawel and waku-mielk relationship is not very strong. The
835 man would not ordinarily copulate with her in a clandestine affair. If he were caught he would be called a dog or other animal because of intimacy with too near a kinswoman.

Arndi ⟷ *Waku* (diramo and mielk) (mother ⟷ child)

593 There are two types of kinship in this reciprocal—mother and son,
604 and mother and daughter. Each has a number of varieties according to the closeness of relation and the consequently stronger bonds. They are: (1) actual mother, and her sons and daughters; (2) mother's sisters who are wives of the actual father and his brothers; (3) mothers, and children from nearby clans. There is another type of arndi who is ego's son's mate. She is near or distant according to the blood or tribal connection.

The essential element in the relationship is that arndi is the mother of waku. Her sisters are considered near mothers; they may be one's father's wives or near father's wives.

593 There are no taboos between a mother and her children except
835 sexual ones. Even here a waku often has an affair with a distant arndi. This is considered wrong, but it occurs. One's father's arndi would
582 come from nati and mari, while one's son's arndi would have to come from galle and mari. Except under rare circumstances there would be no possible chance of a son's marrying a possible mate for a father, just as the opposite union would not be allowed.

853 A mother suckles her own children but her sisters often help if she
847 happens to have two babies whose ages are close together. Sometimes a mother kills her newborn babe because it has followed too closely on her others and she has not enough milk to feed it. This would be done without the knowledge of the father, who would be most angry if he knew it. If a baby dies when born, the father is suspicious of his wife, believing that she might have smothered it in the bush.

847 Abortion, practiced for the same reason as infanticide, is not infrequent. The pregnant woman's sisters exert pressure on her abdomen with knees and hands.

847 When twins are born one is always killed, sometimes the second.
845 But usually, if they are boy and girl, the latter is put to death. Waltjimi's wife killed the boy and allowed the girl to live. There was much indignation in the camp, for it was said that a boy made a people strong, while a girl only caused trouble. A woman kills a twin because it makes her feel like a dog to have a litter instead of one baby.

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For a few days a mother carries her newborn child under her arm in a strip of paper bark. At this time she covers it with charcoal to make it turn black, for it is very light when born and it is thought that it will stay that color unless so painted. In a short time she holds her infant on her shoulder, its legs straddling her neck and its arms clinging to her head. She carries her children out into the bush with her while she gathers the plants, or shell food, for the family larder. When the little boy is about four years old he stays in camp with the other little ones. But the young girls continue going with their mothers, who during this early period start teaching them the countless things they must know about the fauna and flora, the land and the sea, in order to become good food-gatherers. When a boy is to be circumcised the mother always makes presents to the man who paints his body for the ceremony. When the son kills his first kangaroo or emu, the bones are painted and she carries them as she does those of a dead relative. This is to bring the son good luck in the hunt.

If the son's fathers are dead, the mother is sometimes consulted as to the proper time to circumcise him. When the boy returns from his journey to all the local clans, inviting them to come to his circumcision ceremony, it is she who brags about the number of presents given him. She always exaggerates because it is felt that this will also be helpful for the son in acquiring the good things in later life. While he is being circumcised she cries and beats herself. The actions are customary, but they are more than that to the mother, who is deeply affected when she hears her son's cries. The sisters to the mother act in the same way during this ceremony. A mother seldom corrects her child, this being left for mari and nati to do.

When a child is hurt or dead a mother always cuts and beats her head to show her grief. After the child is buried she paints herself with red ocher to cleanse herself of ceremonial impurity so that she can go out for wood and food with the other women. She waits until after burial to paint herself because the body would not decompose if she did it before. After the bones have been prepared for dispersal among the women she is one of the carriers and is usually the first to get them.

The child sees the mother's sisters as arndi not only because they are her sisters but because the father may die and the mother will be transferred to a younger brother of the father, or an older brother may die and his wives will be given to the child's father. In both cases the women would be arndi as wives to the child's father.

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604 855 When a mother goes away with the father for a trip to distant kinspeople, the older children are left with the mother's sisters, the mother's mother, or the mother's brother. The children turn to the near mothers for food and care with the same feeling as to their own mother.

593 628 A mother is deeply fond of her children. Maritcha saved the life of a young man about fifteen years old when some of the former's clansmen plotted the boy's death. The mother heard of this. Maritcha's clan and her own had had a feud for many years, yet from gratitude she attempted to help Maritcha and stop her own people from fighting him at a later time.

841 When a girl has her first menses the mother helps paint her and take care of her.

861 626 593 There is constant tribal pressure on a mother to be good to her children. No Murngin mother would dare correct her children in the manner of a European woman, for she would be considered cruel and inhuman. Camp gossip and opinion would uniformly condemn her and liken her to an animal. On the other hand, there is less restraint on a son and daughter concerning their mother than in our own society. They frequently curse her, and there is no taboo on the conversation used before her.

604 606 Little arndi (son's wife) occupies a different place in the kinship system, although the general behavior toward her would be the same as toward the true mother (see page 72). Waku in this case would also be a different person. He would be father's sister's husband or husband's father to small arndi.

If a small arndi's husband runs away she goes back to her mokul bapa (husband's mother) until he returns or until she has been given to a younger brother of the husband.

603 *Nati* ⟷ *Kaminyer* (diramo and mielk) (mother's father ⟷ daughter's child)

There are two types of this relationship since there are a female and a male kaminyer and only a male nati. There are five varieties of nati: (1) gawel's and arndi's true father; (2) brothers of this nati; (3) brothers of mono married to marikimo; (4) near nati; and (5) distant nati.

603 835 Nati always feeds his male kaminyer, but not the female because he and she would be afraid people might think he was trying to seduce her. He would also be afraid that she might think so herself. The

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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quantities regularly in certain spots along the coast. These eggs are greatly relished by the natives.[8] 222

3. Kinship Customs

The enlargement of a Murngin's economic behavior is dependent on two factors: (1) the horde; and (2) certain reciprocals in the kinship structure. All the relatives of a Murngin ordinarily exchange gifts with him, but certain kinship personalities do this much more than others. The mother's brother—sister's son relationship has been seized upon as the mechanism for enlarging the economic life of a Murngin man. "Far-off" wakus and gawels are sought by a man, distant not only socially but geographically; the greater distance a man has between him and a trading waku or gawel, the greater pride he exhibits when displaying articles sent or brought to him by his relative, and the greater satisfaction he feels when sending or returning gifts. (See chapter on kinship, page 95.) 431 604

The mari-kutara relationship is much the same, except that there is a tendency to indulge in ritual gifts much more than in those from the ordinary material culture. The feathered string which has been the decorative covering of the totemic poles is sent by mari or kutara to the other. This exchange of ritual goods plays a prominent part in the economic life of the people, since if a mari receives a gift from kutara he must, in a not too great period of time, return a present of like ritual value. The finely turned string, often used as ritual string, is usually made by women, at times hundreds of feet of it. It is generously covered with birds' feathers and used on one of the larger totem poles. Obviously a great amount of work on the part of the women and the killing of a large number of birds is required to meet the needs of ritual exchange. Only the red feathers from the breasts 431 602 283 283 237 431

[8] The people of the various areas, particularly those west and east of the Goyder, are always accusing each other of cannibalism. The author can vouch that no cannibals are present among the peoples east of the Goyder and roughly in the Murngin area. The Murngin tell a number of stories of the people south of Cape Stewart which to them prove the existence of cannibalism there. Some of them claim they have seen men's baskets filled with meat which was neither kangaroo nor dunong and which they were convinced was human flesh. In one account I collected, the narrator described watching a cannibal feast. The victim, a large man, was carved and prepared for cooking. There is much scornful joking among the Murngin about these people to the west of them. When they think they see human flesh in the basket of one of these people they say, "Ah, what is this one?" and another Murngin replies, "Oh, that's a kangaroo," with a sarcastic inflection in his voice. The other one says, "Yes, but it doesn't smell just like kangaroo," to which the reply is made, "Oh, well, maybe it's only a dead man." 266 186

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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I. "BASIC" LINES OF DESCENT

The kinship system then is, as Radcliffe-Brown has mentioned (1951:48), based on three "basic" patri-lines, i.e., three classes of male relatives in the second ascending generation, the MARI, MARIMO and NGADI. M.M.B. is distinguished from F.F., but M.F. and F.M.B. are classed together. The inclusion of NGADIWALGUR, as a special variety of NGADI, gives a secondary patri-line. Radcliffe-Brown has discussed the "matri-lines" stemming from these, and has demonstrated that the existence of the term NGADIWALGUR with its reciprocal DUMUNGUR makes it necessary to have seven vertical columns. There are three basic patrilineal lines of descent and three basic "matrilineal" lines of descent: on this structural feature we agree with Radcliffe-Brown (1951:49). There are, however, certain differences: see Table 1. Although there are three basic patri-lines plus four secondary patri-lines; and three basic "matri-lines" plus four secondary "matri-lines," only one patri-line and one "matri-line" are of immediate importance to EGO. Patri-line 0 is significant to an EGO because through it he inherits his linguistic group (*mada*), and thus his clan (*malu*) position. The moiety too is patrilineal; through this line he inherits his ritual position in the sacred ceremonies, together with sections of the relevant mythology and songs, sacred emblems and poles, feathered strings, and sacred uterus dilly bag, his section of the linguistic group and clan totemic patterns. His ritual status is determined through his membership in this patri-line, which includes male siblings of his F., F.F., and male children of the latter. (The females of this line also inherit a ritual status, but I shall not discuss this here.)

This line is the important *baburu*, the male descent line the sacred line through which a man prenatally receives his spirit, and into which when dead he merges as an ancestor. Magic too passes down this line, and all members of it are of the one moiety.

The "matri-line" (X in Table 1), cutting diagonally across the constant vertical "flow" of the patri-line, signifies a "submerged" line of descent. It is relevant to an EGO, but not to his father. It signifies too the importance of the line of his mother, who through her brother has been able to hand on to her son some of her acknowledged ritual status. She herself, because lacking in executive authority, cannot hand on such knowledge as she may have, but through the intense emotional siblings-of-opposite-sex bond (the strongest tabooed tie of all) she is able to delegate this duty to her brother, EGO's M.B. Consequently, EGO has a place in the patri-line of his M.B.; but this is actually of secondary importance, because his M.B. is of the opposite moiety.

But down this "matri-line" of EGO passes the knowledge and ritual status which skips a generation with the m. and M.B. and comes directly, so to speak, from EGO's M.M.B. to EGO himself, for these two are of the same moiety, i.e., from the M.M.B. to his Sr.D.S.

This is the important *maribula* line, of the same moiety as EGO's patri-line. To all intents and purposes it is identified with EGO's own line, and the rights and privileges which he inherits through it may be the same as those

[text continues on p. 87]

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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through females to a named or presumed female ancestress, i.e., from S. to m., to m.m., and so on. To Radcliffe-Brown (1952:36) matrilineal succession means that "the greater part of the body of rights of an individual . . . are derived by him through his mother and cannot be transmitted to his children but devolve upon his sister's children." This is obviously what is meant by matrilineal descent: rights, power, privileges, etc., conferring, supplementing, or withholding membership in the group which forms the descent line, "flow" down through a man's female siblings and are held only for the span of their lifetimes by male children of these female siblings. In this way a privilege (e.g. may be held by a man who obtained it through his m., from her M.B.: the principle is inheritance and succession through a M.B. to Sr.S. But in our Wulamba structure, descent is different: the M.B. is not in the position to hand on any more than rights, privileges, and entree into the cult life of his own patri-line: he has, of course, as I have indicated, some affinity with the patri-line of his mother, but his main interests lie in his own patri-line and in that of his own MARI-GUDARA inheritance line. Within this context, then, the M.B. is of little importance and is not a factor for consideration.

When we say that an EGO traces descent back from his m. to his m.m. and back to a female ancestress, this is matrilineal descent, and females serve as agents in transmitting. In the Wulamba case, an EGO's m. and m.m. are agents who serve as connecting links (not being themselves transmitters). But what they serve to represent is not such a matrilineal sequence, for it is the patri-line of the m.m. which holds that which is to be transmitted. That is to say, the knowledge an EGO receives from his maternal grandparent, a male, belongs to his same moiety: it "skips" a generation, and also a moiety. It is really an oblique line of inheritance from the head of a person's m.m.'s patri line, this head being his M.M.B., of the same moiety as himself and closely identified with (possibly one and the same as) the head of his own patri-line. We can call this the MARI-GUDARA line of inheritance. One of its principal functions is to strengthen patriliny.

III. DEFINITIONS

Thus we may state that patrilineal descent is a dominating factor in Wulamba society. The patri-line is reinforced by the MARI-GUDARA line of inheritance, while there is a "submerged" relationship between a person and his mother's kin, i.e., agnatically, because of the importance of the patri-line. But there is no acknowledged matrilineal descent, whether of a submerged nature or otherwise.

Thus a patri-line signifies descent through males to an acknowledged common progenitor in the second or third ascending generation levels, and includes male siblings of each generation level. These form the active members of the patri-line. The females of a patri-line are, nevertheless, closely bound to it: this is exemplified in the siblings-of-opposite-sex relationship. They serve as links between male members of their line and their daughter's sons.

EGO's matri-line is his mother's patri-line defined in this same way: a

[423] of his mother, which is known by a distinctive term, *yindi-*
[614] *pulo*, (*yindi*, big). The mother's clan stands in a special
602 relationship, and a man regards its members as his own people. In times of trouble or feud, or during the quarrels about women which rage intermittently, he can be assured of sanctuary there. (*Yindipulo* applies to the mother's clan itself, and to members of the clan collectively.) They take his part in fights and he exercises hunting rights over their
[604] territory as if he belonged to the clan. A special relationship exists between a man and his mother's brother, called *kauwäl* (reciprocal term *wäkku*), who is a member of the mother's clan. This man is regarded as "like a mother" and he remains a special friend and ally throughout life.

594 In Arnhem Land the most important unit of social life
614 is the family, the group which consists of a man, his wife or wives and their children. The family unit however lies outside the clan organisation, for the clan is a group whose members are either bound by ties of kinship and the bond of descent from a common totemic ancestor or by a belief that they share this bond, and they are
614 also linked by the possession of totems in common. And
621 since the people are patrilineal and the clan group is *exogamous*[11]—that is, a man may not marry a woman of the same clan—the group which actually *occupies* the clan territory is made up of the male members of the clan and their children, *plus* their wives (who remain members of other clans—the clans into which they were born), and *minus* those female members of the clan who have married into other clans. To this occupational group the name "horde" is applied. The clan is an hereditary
[597] group, entry into which is by birth alone, but a person may enter a horde by marriage or by adoption. The *clan* is a permanent and stable unit of social organisation; the

[11] See footnote 7 (page 10), on the dual division and exogamy.

777 the fine powdery dust (*känno*),[20] of the ceremonial ground,
778 and declared that the turtles were therefore "*yarkomirri*"
[796] (lit. "bearing a name", i.e. sacred). A rite was performed to remove the tabu, before the flesh could be eaten by the
[431] uninitiated. Even then those people, other than members of the totemic group, who ate the flesh, were called upon to make a payment of the type previously described, called *tudoit*, in this case to the fully initiated members.

182 Reference has been made to the obligation to hunt which
[461] a man incurs in order to provide animal food for the
431 women upon whom he must depend for the large quan-
[561] tities of food which he requires to meet the periodic
[796] ceremonial presentations which mark almost every stage
606 of initiation as well as the termination of each critical stage
604 in his life. This obligation is especially stressed in his relationship with his *mukul rumaro*[21] (potential mother-

[20] *Känno* is really ash, fine, white, powdery wood ash. This man was said to be "*kälya kännomirri*", "skin with ashes", because the white dust of the ceremonial ground was still on his body and carried its *marr*.

[601] [21] As this paper may be read by many economists who may not have anthropological training, some reference to the kinship system of the aborigines may be of assistance. Under the system which is called "classificatory", the terms of relationship allied to the family and to near kin are extended to a number of people with whom no actual genetic relationship can be traced but who are grouped or classified with own kin. A man applies the term "father" not only to his own father but to all the people his father calls "brother" and this system is extended indefinitely. These terms expressing relationship are used instead of personal names, as terms of address. This system has the effect of reducing greatly the number of actual terms in use. But kinship terms are not mere names, for each carries with it a set pattern of behaviour. In Arnhem Land a man applies the term *mukul rumaro* (mother-in-law) to the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. He knows that he may look to this woman to provide him with a wife or wives and the pattern of behaviour

in-law), and with the particular *kauwäl* (mother's brother) who is the husband of this woman to whom he applies the term *mukul*. Before the potential mother-in-law has a daughter, even before she is pregnant, he may begin to send her gifts of food. These progressive gifts have a cumulative effect and build up goodwill. They are divided into two series, to each of which a special name is applied. The first series are *milmarr*, while those given to the mother-in-law after the birth of a daughter are known by a different term, *mundur*. As my informant said, "that is hard work for me; she pays me back," i.e. by giving her daughter to me in marriage. They believe that this special form of giving has more than a "goodwill" effect, and that *marr*, the spiritual force or power to which I have referred, goes with the food, so that it has a greater significance than the white man would attach to it—and much greater than its mere value as food. The same applies to the special ceremonial gifts of food and *gerri* which are presented by the novitiate at various stages during his initiation to clan totems and to other cults. Implicit in this form of giving is the feeling which is even more important than "goodwill", that it places the recipient under an obligation to repay. To remain under such a debt is to accept a feeling of inferiority, of shame and humiliation.

In discussing the "drive", the urge to carry out the exacting hard work (which in a fully organised aboriginal society is everywhere in evidence) I have stressed the obligation which a man feels to reciprocate with a gift of at

toward *mukul rumaro* is one of rigid avoidance. He may not speak to her nor she to him, but he has very definite obligations towards her (*mukul rumaro*), including the obligation to provide her with certain animal food, with progressive gifts of a special type described above.

431 "good luck" in hunting. They make the hunter *mel kärku-*
[777] *luk*, far seeing, (lit. eye-clear). Such objects are given regu-
778 larly to friends and to members of other clans, particularly
[604] to people who stand in the relationship of *wäkku* (son, woman speaking: sister's son, man speaking) but although they carry the obligation to make heavy ceremonial presentations in return, any idea of straight-out exchange—in the sense of economic equivalence, of barter or trade, in connection with things that are *yarkomirri*, is unthinkable.

784 Under certain circumstances, and after a lapse of time, a
778 rite may be performed to remove the tabu from these objects, particularly from canoe paddles, to enable the women and children to be fed on the fish or turtle secured from the canoe, after which they become *wäkkinŋu*, "ordinary" or non-sacred, and lose their *marr*, their "power" (to the initiated) and their "danger" (to the profane).

422 Objects of the *wäkkinŋu* type come under no such restric-
435 tions. In the category of the non-sacred are all a
[771] man's ordinary possessions, his spears and other weapons, canoe, fishing lines, nets, harpoons and all his personal equipment, and for a woman, her yam stick, domestic implements and utensils, her baskets—and in fact all her posses-
[562] sions. For no woman may possess or use any object which is *yarkomirri*.

000 In the foregoing account some of the incentives which lie behind the gathering of food and the manufacture of weapons and material objects have been described. A number of questions now arise. Does a man make all his own weapons and the implements which he requires for his own use, or does he acquire weapons from other people and in turn make them for others? If so, how are these exchanges made and on what terms; how are values assessed, payments made? Is the matter one of straight-out barter, the balancing

Wongar men, things would have been different. Both the men and the women were Dua. They were incestuous. It was like a brother and sister being together. Those two sisters left that country, one pregnant and the other menstruating. If they had not done this, this cycle would never have happened. Everyone and all plants and animals would have stayed single. But after the Wawilak sisters had done this they made it the law for everyone (pages 250-251). 159 581 828 773 825

When I was a small boy I walked about single. One day my gawel came to me and said, "Look at me. I am your gawel. You must give me kangaroo and turtle and spears. By and by I will give you my gatu mielk" (pages 93-98). 159 431 582 583

I gave him spears and spear-throwers, hair belts, and all kinds of food because he would give me his daughters. When I first started making presents to him for my wife, my younger brothers all helped me. By and by, when they get ready to have a wife, I shall help them make presents to their gawels. My gawel gave my father presents of spears and food, and he also gave my arndi presents because I was her son and because she is my gawel's sister.

We like our wives' fathers very much. Suppose my gawel and my father quarrel and suppose they fight. I can do nothing. I cannot help my father. I cannot help my father-in-law. I must do nothing. They are all the same to me. I must try to stop any fight. 159 606

All men try to get plenty of wakus in other countries. This is because they send presents to their gawels. They send things that aren't in this country. This country, where we are now, has no stone. Relatives here send presents to the Ritarngo country for stone spear heads. They send bamboo to the Goyder River people for it. Some others have no white clay and they send to other countries for it. Fathers-in-law and sons-in-law are the people who do this (pages 95-96). 159 431 604 606

Sometimes a no-good gawel promises his daughter to three wakus. All these "half" sons-in-law give presents to him. They all think they are going to get that girl. By and by one gets her. This means a big row. The other two want to fight this lucky one, and they always fight the father of the girl because he has been two-faced. They think this gawel maybe is a little bit crazy. Sometimes two or three boys, when they are all trying to get a girl, see that her father is no good and they all quit. 159 578 604

When a man marries a woman his father-in-law tells him to take good care of her. When a man has two daughters from his father-in-law, sometimes the old man comes and says to him, "It is better that I give your younger brother this next girl." The older brother says, "Yes, you tell him 159 584

10: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1958
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around her I can't talk high; I must talk low. It is just the same for her. I can't look at her when we are close. If I go along a path and meet my mokul I must leave that path. I must leave that path and go another way. If I walked along a path and did not see her and accidentally touched her, her sweat would make me swell up in the groin. My sweat would do the same thing for her.

My mother-in-law is a very good woman. I like her very much. She is very good to me. She always saves all the tobacco she gets and keeps it for me when I have no more. I always send her the best of the kangaroos I kill and the turtles I spear. She always says nice things about me to other people. I hear them and it makes me feel good. When my mokul gets a little bit old and she can't have any more children and she looks a little like a man and has hair on her face, then I can talk to her and she can talk to me. We must be very serious when we do this (pages 101-103).

I like my mother's mother [mari] very much. I like her best of all. She is more my mother than my own mother. When I was little, she looked out for me more than my own mother. She gave me plenty of food. She carried me when I was a baby. I like my mother's sister next best, then my mother. My mother's sister was very good to me, too (pages 96-98).

My true father died when I was small. My mother and we children went to my father's yukiyuko [younger brother], as is the law of our people.

Having an old woman for a wife is no good. She can't have a baby. She is too old. If a man doesn't have children he won't have any sons and daughters-in-law, and he, when he is old, won't have any food and plenty of spears and plenty of tobacco. It is no good having an old woman. She is all the same as rubbish.

My wife is not like that—she is young. She is a very good woman. She always looks straight ahead and keeps her mouth very still when she is around other men. She never talks loud. Sometimes, when I am away too long, she won't give me food when I come back. She thinks I have been away too long. When she does this I sit down and wait a while and say nothing. It is better to keep quiet. Then I say, "Well, what are you mad about?" She says nothing, and her face looks different. I can see by how her heart is beating that she is wild inside. I keep asking and asking. Then she tells me she thinks maybe I have stayed away a long time and have been with some other woman. She thinks maybe I haven't been hunting and I have been fooling her. Clear inside she knows this is not true, and by and by she gets quiet and gives me something to eat. Sometimes she thinks when I have been away that I have an old sweetheart and that I go out all the time to see her. After she has growled for a long time I say nothing and then I say, "No, I have no sweetheart. If I did have I would come and tell